

THE
DOCTRINE
OF
Passive Obedience :
Asserted in a
SERMON

Preach'd on *January 30. 1684.*

By *James Ellesby, M. A. Vicar of
Chiswick in Middlesex.*

*For Rulers are not a Terror to good Works, but to the Evil :
Wilt thou then not be afraid of the Powers ? Do that
which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same.
Rom. 13. 3.*

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THE

DOCTRINE

OF THE

SERMON

PREACHED AT THE

BY JAMES ELIAS, M. A. Vicar of
St. Andrew's Church, London.

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TO THE READER.

THIS Discourse was sent to the Press the Month of Feb. 2. day after it was preach'd, and part of it printed before the much lamented Death of his late Majesty, of most Dear and Happy Memory; the Intent whereof was not to flatter Princes into an Abuse of their Power, or make them more Absolute than the Law hath done (a Calumny, which some are apt to fasten on the Doctrine of Passive Obedience;) but to teach Subjects their Duty to Governours upon all Occasions, and instruct them in the Principles of Subjection, according to the Laws of the Land, and Rules of the Gospel; wherein I have had regard to those Persons, who make shew of a more than ordinary Zeal for Religion, yet are apparently defective in the two great Duties of Charity and Loyalty, to make them those Compleat Christians they would be taken for.

This Sermon, with another of the like nature, was at first preach'd some Years ago; now what pass'd for good Doctrine against one sort of men then, I hope will not be thought otherwise now; for Truth doth never alter nor

To the Reader.

vary with the Times, whatever the Professours of it may do. I hope in God, seeing our Present Sovereign hath been pleased to declare (to the infinite satisfaction of the whole Kingdom) his Royal Intention to Govern and continue things as they are now Settled and by Law Establish'd, we shall have no reason to cherish any Fears and Jealousies, but rather to bless God for inclining his Royal Heart so Graciously toward this poor Church and State. Therefore, instead of carrying on their old Discontents and Factions against the Government, People ought to Own and Submit to the good Providence of God, who hath preserv'd his Majesty that now is from so many imminent Dangers, and brought him to the Throne in Peace and Safety, notwithstanding all the Attempts and Oppositions that have been made to the contrary. Let us then perform the Duty of good Subjects, in yielding that Obedience and Subjection which we owe to our Lawful Prince, and of good Christians, in praying for a Blessing upon his Royal Person and Government, that he may Reign long and happily over us, and we may lead Quiet and Peaceable Lives in all Godliness and Honesty under him.

Feb. 9.

1684

Amen.

PRO

 PROVERBS 30. 31.

— *And a King, against whom there is
no Rising up.*

THESE Proverbial Sayings of the Wise man, carry their own Sense and Context along with them, and are collected together without any great Order or Dependence upon one another.

In the beginning of this *Chapter* we have *Agur's* humble and modest Wish for a *contented mediocrity*, preferable to both *Extreams of Poverty and Riches* : The remaining part is spent in the observation of some remarkable Qualities, peculiar to several sorts of Creatures.

The last here mentioned takes notice of four things, which are Comly and Majestick in their Going, *a Lyon which is strongest among Beasts, and turns not away for any; a Greyhound, a He-Goat, and a King, against whom there is no rising up.*

I shall not spend time in giving you an account of the various Readings and Opinions of Interpreters upon these Words ; but preferring our own Version as the most generally received, I shall only observe that the first and last of these, the Lyon and the King, have their particular Characters annex to them ; a Lyon which is King among Beasts, is so strong, as he neither Fears nor Turns away from any thing ; and a King, he is so Sacred among Men, as no Man ought to Rise up, or Turn against him : The former is generally fear'd for his great Strength and undaunted Courage ; and the latter, no less to

be Reverenc'd for his Sacred Character and Supream Authority

By a King here we are to understand a *Sovereign Prince*, one invest'd with the Supream Power of a Nation, and not such Titular and Precarious Princes, as were the Kings among the *Lacedemonians*, or those under those *Romans*; *Qui non proprio, sed precario jure imperabant*, in the Words of *Grotius*; who had little of Royalty belonging to them, beside the Name and Ceremony, at most, were but Kings upon Courtesie, and reign'd at the Pleasure of the Senate and People. But by King here is meant, such a one as *Solomon* himself was, the supposed Author of these Words, under the name of *Agur*; one who is acknowledg'd Sovereign in his Kingdom, who holds his Crown Independant on any but God, as having no Equal, much less Superiour upon Earth: And such a one as this the Laws do acknowledge our King to be, when they call his Crown an *Imperial Crown*, resembling that of the *Roman* Emperours, which was *Absolute* and *Independant*; when they Entitle him upon all Occasions, *Our Sovereign Lord the King*, when they account his Person *Sacred* and *Inviolable*, which cannot be but in respect of his Authority, which must therefore be Divine in its Original, and Inseparable from his Person; when they affirm he is *Legibus Solutus*, free from the Coercive Power of the Law; and enjoin us to pray for him as *Supream in all Causes, and over all Persons, throughout his Majesties Realms and Dominions*.

Against such a King as this, there is no Rising up, that is, there ought to be none: No Force or Violence, no Opposition or Resistance can lawfully be made against a Sovereign Prince, who receives his Power immediately from God, and therefore to him alone can be accountable for it.

From the Words thus open'd, you may easily ghes at the Subject Matter, and Intent of my ensuing Discourse, which will be to prove, and if possibly, convince you of the great Sin and Danger of Resisting a *Supream Lawful Authority*,

thority, wherever it is lodg'd, either in one or more, and upon what Account it becomes utterly unlawful so to do.

§. Now that *Resistance* of this nature is a Sin, I am thoroughly satisfied, and the Reasons why I believe so, are such as follow.

§. 1. Because it is an Affront and Violation offered to a Divine Ordinance, and that Government is a Divine Ordinance I might prove at large, from the Testimony of all Nations concerning it; from the joynt Confession of the whole Christian Church, Primitive and Reform'd, and in particular by that of our own, together with the Laws of the Land, which do acknowledge and suppose as much. But however, there is less need of insisting upon these, because the Apostle St. Paul doth expressly affirm it, and this he doth by a Spirit of greater Infallibility than that of Rome, or any other Sect or Party of Men, who have taught the contrary. Rom. 13. 1, 2. *There is no power but of God, the powers that be are ordain'd of God, whosoever therefore resisteth the powers, resisteth the Ordinance of God.*

Now that Resistance is an Affront thereunto, I think none will deny, for it is to overthrow what God himself hath Establish'd, to pluck up what he hath Planted, and to make void, as much as in us lies, the Providence of God in the Government of the World.

It was Gamaliel's Argument to the Council, that they should not evil intreat the Apostles, lest haply they should be found to fight against God. *Acts 5. 39.* The like caution may be given in this Case, that no Man ought to offer the least resistance to Civil Authority, nor so much as lift up a hand or finger against those whom God hath set over them, lest haply they be found at length to fight against God, in the Person of his Vicegerent. For our Saviour's way of Reasoning, which he useth in another Instance, for vindicating the Mission and Authority of his Apostles, holds good here; *He that despiseth you, despiseth me, and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me. Luk. 10. 16.* In like manner, he that offers

resistance to the *Power* or *Person* of the *Sovereign*, doth in that very Act, resist the Ordinance of God, and he that resisteth a Divine Ordinance, may be said to resist God himself, who is the Sole Author and Institutor thereof; and what a Man may expect after such an Affront, I need not tell him, for the Apostle doth, *They that Resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation.*

Rom. 13. 2.

§. 2. Resistance is the breach of a Divine Command, and in that respect the Abettors thereof can't be Guileless: Is not Obedience and Subjection to Civil Authority made our Duty, and prest upon us frequently in Holy Writ, as well in the Old Testament as the New; The particular Places to this purpose are so well known that I need not repeat them at large; that of the Text is sufficient at present.

Now it is granted on all hands, that a Divine Command reacheth the Conscience: God therefore having given us an expresse command for Subjection, hath thereby made it our Duty, and having given us an expresse Prohibition against Resistance hath made that a Sin, and consequently matter of Conscience to every Christian: For Conscience must evermore have a Divine Command for its Direction and Guide, for its Rule and Warrant to Act by, otherwise 'tis not Conscience, but something else that deserves a worse Name. Now consider, a thing becomes never the more Lawful or Unlawful in it self, because it is grown a Custom and Fashion with some Men to plead Conscience for or against it; except you will grant that Conscience is Infallible in all Men alike, or that a Man can't do amiss, or go wrong, that pretends to follow the Dictates of his Conscience; for then, when two Persons Act directly contrary to one another, both may be said to be in the right, if they do but follow their Consciences, the one in doing, the other in Forbearing what they are commanded.

Conscience then being so variable, is no Rule at all, much less an infallible Rule, but stands in need of one that is so; for want of which, it hath been greatly mistaken there-

therefore that only becomes necessary to be done, which God hath commanded, and that only Sinful and Unlawful which he hath forbidden.

Now let us bring this home to the Case in hand. By this Rule, all Seditious Practices, and violent Attempts against the Government, being forbidden by God, are as much Sins as any Act of Prophaness and Impiety whatsoever; and are never the more Warrantable, because some Men have pleaded Conscience in Defence thereof, and disguis'd their Faction under the Veil of Religion. Well therefore may we apply that of the Apostle, which hath been so oft urg'd against this very Duty; *Whether is better to be Obey'd, God or Man, judge ye.* So in this matter, Whether ought to be most obeyed? God, who commands Subjection, and forbids Resistance; or such Turbulent, and Disaffected Persons, who plead Conscience against every thing they dislike, and pretend Religion to the neglect of this Duty, in opposition to a positive Precept and Divine Command?

*Acts 4. 19.
5. 24.*

The Text tells us, against a King there is no Rising up: that is, as I have already told you, there ought to be none. Had the People but the tenth part as much for Resistance, as here is against it, no Government would be quiet, nor Kings suffer'd to sit long upon their Thrones; when yet they are in so much danger, from the Patrons of Faction and Sedition, notwithstanding all the Provision which God himself hath made for their Security.

This will further appear, if we consider the Inconsistency of it to our Christian Profession. Wherefore,

§ 3. Resistance, or Opposition to Civil Government, is contrary to the Doctrine of Christ; Examples of the Apostles, and the whole Genius and Design of the Gospel.

The Doctrine of Christ is well known, and hath been sufficiently vindicated upon this Occasion. It recommends to its Professors all those admirable Vertues and Graces, which

which are inconsistent with a fierce and violent temper of Mind: It Enjoyns us to pray for our Enemies, and bless our Persecutors: tho we suffer wrongfully, to bear it patiently; to do Good for Evil, instead of returning it: to take up the Cross rather than the Sword; for which *Peter* was so sharply rebuk'd by his Master and Ours. Now there can be no Resistance but something of Revenge must prompt to it, and be mingled with it.

Now if by the Laws of our Religion we are forbid Revenge, or the returning of Wrong towards our Equals and Inferiours, much more towards our Superiours. For if Love and Charity is due to the one, Faith and Loyalty being superadded thereto, is due to the Other. And if to suffer, tho wrongfully, be a Duty; be sure wrongful Resistance is no less a Crime. Now all Resistance is of this kind, for want of a Lawful Authority to bear it out.

§ Then for the Example of Christ; this was nothing else but a *Praxis* upon his own Doctrine; instructing them therein, as well by his meek and gentle Behaviour, as by his admirable Counsel and Advice. Though his Cause was the most Just and Righteous, and himself the most innocent Person in the World; tho his Enemies were the most Cruel, and his Sufferings the most Severe, attended with all the Circumstances of Ignominy and Reproach; yet the great Saviour of the World, and Exemplar of us Christians, was so far from offering at Resistance, or any thing like it, that he did not utter so much as a threatening Word, nor make shew of the least Murmuring or Discontent; *But as a sheep before the Shearers is dumb, so he opened not his Mouth;* saith the Evangelical Prophet. *Who when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not, but committed himself to him that judgeth Righteously;* saith the Apostle.

Isaiah
53. 7.

Peter 2. 23.

Now the more we resemble our meek and humble Saviour in our Comportment under Sufferings and Injuries, the

the greater assurance we have of being his Disciples indeed ; this will entitle us to the Adoption of Sons, and make us Heirs with him of the promised Reward.

4. Add to the Example of Christ, that of his Apostles, who were in all respects admirable Followers of the Blessed Jesus ; instead of revenging their Sufferings, or resisting the Powers under which they suffered, they on the quite contrary rejoyc'd in Affliction, and gloried in Tribulation ; they accounted it an Honour to tread in the steps of their great Master, and to be so evil intreated by the World for His sake.

Now 'tis not only the Cause, but the Manner of Suffering, or our Behaviour under it, that makes our Sufferings like those of Christs ; for let our Sufferings be upon what account they will, whether Civil or Religious, 'tis our Patient and Submissive Demeanour under them, that makes them Christian Sufferings, and to resemble those of our Blessed Redeemer ; nay, the Manner of Suffering is every whit as much to be regarded as the Occasion ; for a Man may suffer in a good Cause after a bad manner, and thereby lose the Reward of his Sufferings for want of Faith and Patience to support and carry him through : Again, He that suffers in an ill Cause, may become so Sensible of his Fault, and Penitent withall, as to find Pity from Man and Pardon from God ; whereas the best Cause can never justify the impatient murmurings and discontent of its forward Martyrs or peevish Confessors.

5. To this purpose, let us consider a while the Example of the Primitive Christians, how they behav'd themselves under all their Persecutions, and we shall find them Followers of the Apostles, as they were of Christ, and thereby prov'd themselves no less his Scholars and Disciples than they. We find them made up of Patience and Submission, Meekness and Long-suffering ; they underwent the greatest Rage, sharpest Torments, and severest Persecutions that could be, yet with an Apostolical temper, and Christ-like
frame

frame and disposition of Mind, amid'st all the Cruelties threatened on the one hand, and inflicted on the other, we find nothing could provoke them to a Disturbance; we read of nothing they did in way of Revenge or Despite to their Governours; and notwithstanding the late disingenuous Representation of the Christians in *Julian's* Time, yet from the best Account we have given us of that, and the Preceding Ages, we are assur'd, that the Patience of the Christians was equal to the Rage of their Adversaries, and their Constancy and Resolution in bearing Injuries, was greater than that of their Enemies in the inflicting of them.

*Tertul. ad
Scapul.*

Nay, their Sufferings were rather cause of Joy and Triumph, than of Quarrel and Revenge: *Magis damnati quam absoluti gaudemus*, said the most Ancient of all the *Latine* Fathers: We are more chearful at the news of our Condemnation than of our Acquittal or Absolution: Now their willingness to suffer, and forwardness to submit, is an Argument they were much better Christians than the generality of those, who think themselves in the uppermost Form in Christ's School, and yet have not taken out this Lesson.

What kind of Weapons those were which the Primitive Christians opposed to all the Abuses and Outrages of their Adversaries, is very well known: They made use of no Offensive Arms against the very worst of Princes, nor any other Defence than that of Prayers and Tears, Apologies and Supplications; *aliter nec debeo nec possum resistere*, says the Warlike Bishop of *Milan*. According to the Principles of their Religion, they could not make any other Defence, they were not permitted any other Resistance.

And therefore one great Topick they insisted on in their Apologies for themselves and their Religion was this, That it was the greatest friend to Government in the World; it no ways countenanc'd Sedition, nor encourag'd Rebellion; but on the contrary, kept Subjects within the strictest

strictest bonds of Obedience made them bound to the Prince, and Faithful to the Government, and bound in as a Duty upon their Consciences so to be: It taught them to respect their Governours as God's Ministers and Viceregents upon Earth; to acknowledge with our serious, that they receiv'd their Power from above, and to behave themselves under it accordingly.

Furthermore, that you may see how shy they were of Resistance, and at what a distance they kept from this Sin, they were wont to put up Publick Prayers (and I dare say they never said them *backward* in Private) for the Life of the Emperour, Safety of his Person, and Success of his Arms, tho in so doing they did but pray for their greatest Enemies, Persecutors and Slanderers, and a continuance of all those Calamities which they daily suffered and groan'd under.

Objection. This in a great measure some will acknowledge to be true, but not upon the Principles of Conscience and Religion: 'tis true, say they, the Primitive Christians did not resist, but it was because they durst not; *Deus est viris, fides Bellarmine*; they wanted Strength and Numbers to oppose and go through with it, if they had begun, and therefore it was *Prudence* in them to sit still and be quiet; and make the best they could of an ill Bargain, as having no hopes to better it by Resistance.

Answer. This Objection or Pretence carries a great deal of Untruth along with it, and no less ill Will and Disaffection toward Governours; but in reality is no better than a Jesuitical Fiction, made use of by that Order of men (who make Lyes their refuge, when they find the plain Truth is not for their turn,) to support their wicked Doctrine of taking up Arms against the Prince at the command of their Church. For if any credit may be given to Primitive Antiquity and the General History of those Times, the Christians then had both Arms and Armies; They wanted not Force to Defend themselves, and Oppose

disproportioned: if they had the Mind to be a Feinle
christian part of the Empire, who their kind Christians, who
made up ~~part of the~~ ^{part of the} greatest Number almost
in every Town and City, such ~~Town~~ ^{Town}, whose account is
very well known, and ~~they~~ ^{they} shed upon this Occasion, ~~they~~
if they had been inclined to Resistance, or
thought it Lawful, might, ~~for the~~ ^{for the} Desperation of their
Case, have supply'd the defect of their Numbers, which
sometimes carries men a great way, and inspires them with
Courage and Resolution beyond that of their Enemies, ~~considering~~
withall, their Condition could not well be
worse than it was, had they failed in their attempt, and
fallen short of Success: for let what would happen, they
could but Dy, and it was more Honourable (for Soul-
diers especially) to dye in the Field, than as a Snake or
Gibbet, and more satisfaction to sell their Lives as dear as
they could, than to have them torn away from them by all
imaginable Torture and insupportable Cruelty.

But, God be praised, none of these Considerations mov'd
them: They were act'd by other good Maxims and Prin-
ciples, than are disaffected to this present Age: We hear
of no ~~Resistance~~ ^{Resistance}, or Offers of Resistance, amidst the greatest
heat of persecution, and it is a mighty Credit to Christi-
anity, and Satisfaction to all good Christians, that no such
thing is recorded of them: This argues the Goodness both
of their Cause and Religion, which (upon that Account,
deserv'dly recommends it self to the especial Care and Pro-
tection of Princes, as being the best Fence and Security to
their Persons and Government.

3. 4. Resistance against Lawful Authority is a Sin that
both most commonly meet with its Shame and Punishment
even in this Life, and hath evermore been Abhor'd by all
Good Men, notwithstanding the Success, which for a time
it may meet withall.

No Crime is judg'd more Wicked and Unnatural; more
Malignant and Prejudicial to Human Society than this;

and no greater Penitence should remain, than to this of Treason and Rebellion, which is the plain English of all Violent Resistance, when oppos'd to Lawful Authority; it being of most dangerous Consequence to all States; and no Government long safe, where this may be perpetrated, or thought Lawful; and therefore the Laws of all Nations consider Heaven have strictly provided against this Sin, and branded it with the greatest Reproach and Infamy to the World. It forfeits not only the Life and Estate of the Party guilty thereof, but Taints his Blood, against his Posterity, and is too oft the Ruine and Discomfite of many otherwise Splendid and Illustrious Families; especially where the Prince is pleas'd to take the Forfeiture, according to the utmost Rigour and Extremity of the Law. *Esseint tam grave Crimen, ut sine penitentie Hereditas, quid vivam, fatis Beatorum, ita so Vile et Infamum a specto of Guilt, that the Law doth hardly allow Life to his Children and Posterity.*

Had I time, I might observe unto you, out of all sorts of History, and the Records of all Nations extant, the sore and Grievous Punishment, which have overtaken those that have been given to Change, and driven into Open Rebellion, or secret Conspiracy against their Lawful Prince and Governours: which is a manifest token, how much God and Man abhors this Sin, and how dangerous it is to those that are guilty thereof.

The Time would fail me to speak of the just Judgment of God, pursuing *Korah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*, who rose up against *Moses*; *Absalom*, *Achitophel*, and *Sheba*, who rebelled against *David*: befalling *Bigbea* and *Tereh*, which conspired against *Abimelech*; *Timotheus* and *Judas* of *Galilee*, who made an Insurrection under the *Romans*: overtaking the Murderers of *Saul* and *Ishobeth* his Son, and the Conspirators against the several Kings of *Judah* and *Israel*: All which are recorded in Holy Writ to be like *Lot's Wife*, when turn'd into a Pillar of Salt, as so many standing Monuments.

to stand up against this bloody Guilt: where unto I might
add out of prophetic Story, the Murderers of *Darius*, *Alex-
ander*, *J. Caesar*, and an infinite more, who have been all
brought to a Shameful and Unhappy End by this very Sin,
and branded to Posterity for their bloody Treasons and
Conspiracies against their Princes and Sovereigns. I adjudge
but. The whole Nation of the *Jews*, who were very Peace-
able and Quiet under both their former Captivities and up-
on that Account always said the better for it; God himself
inclining the Kings of their Kingdoms toward them, and
sometimes appearing in an extraordinary manner for their
Safety and Deliverance, yet were at last utterly Ruin'd by
this very Sin; for by Rebelling against the *Romans*, they
became a dreadful Instance of God's Wrath and Severity;
first under *Tiber*, and afterward under *Nero*, by whom,
for their frequent Mutinies and Insurrections, they were
banish'd their Country, burnt their City, and every foot
of Land taken from them, which they could never recover
from that time to this.

What shall I or can I say more; the great Conscience
which *David* made of Refusing *Saul*, Injuring his Person,
or Attempting ought against his Government, notwithstand-
ing he was Chosen of God and Appointed by *Samuel* to the
Succession; as likewise his punishing the wicked *Amalekites*
with Death for laying hands upon him, tho' in his Distress,
and at his Request, to prevent his Fall into the Enemies
hands; All these Instances give us to understand (if we will
Understand any thing) how Hateful and Abominable this
Sin is both to God and Man; and how much we should
dread all Beginnings and Approches therunto.

6. I pray, what have the Authours of the late Rebellion,
and in particular of this Days horrible Parricide, what have
they got thereby, but besides the Forfeiture of their Lives
and Estates, a Stain upon their Memories, a Reproach to
their Religion, and Cause of perpetual Jealousie and Su-
spicion from the Government?

The

The like may be affirmed of all those who have been any ways Instrumental in carrying on the two late Horrid Conspiracies against the Life of our Present King; (whom I pray God long preserve) what have they got hereby, but as the Prophet saith, *an Everlasting Reproach and a perpetual Blot, which shall not be forgotten.* Jer. 23. 40.

He, therefore that takes the Sword into his hand to lift it up against his Brother, much more against the Father of his Country, doth in that very Act rescue it out of Gods hand, and so may justly dread the Fatal Consequence of such a Presumption, foretold by our Saviour, when he said, *They that take the Sword shall Perish with it;* which most Men have found true to their own Cost, either first or last, sooner or later: Wherefore you ought to be Subject (as the Apostle saith) *for Wrath sake,* that is, for fear of the just Judgement of God overtaking you in this Life, either immediately from his own hand, or that of the Magistrate: But this is not all, there is something *Worse* than this yet behind; wherefore,

§. 5. God hath threatned to punish this Sin with *Damnation*, Rom. 13. 2. so the Text runs according to our Version: The word indeed signifies *Judgment*; but however, according to the Analogy of Scripture, it may refer to the Punishment of the Other Life as well as of This, because Resistance is (as you have heard) the breach of a Divine Command, the *Transgression of the Law of God*, which the Apostle tells us is Sin; *now the Wages of Sin is Death*, that is, of all Sin, and This among the rest: and then what a woful Case must they be in, who Live and Dye in this Sin unrepented of, or whom the just Judgement of God doth overtake before they are brought to an Humble Sense and Acknowledgement thereof.

Now who would venture upon this Sin, which carries Shame in the Front, and Damnation in the Rear? Who would hazard his Soul, tho it were for the Conquest of the whole World, much less for a small clod and parcel thereof.

Strange!

Math. 26.
52.

Rom. 6. 23.

Strange! that Christians, who know they have Souls to save, or lose for ever; and therefore should be the most scrupulous of any thing that might hazard and endanger them, that yet they should be able to allow themselves in so great a Guilt; and study all they can for Pretences to excuse and mitigate this Sin, rather than take Warning and Repent thereof; notwithstanding so vast a Punishment is threatened thereto.

To conclude this Particular, Whatever we may dream of the Original of the Magistrates Power, yet our Religion for certain teaches us to acknowledge it to be Divine, and to proceed from God: It makes Subjection, notwithstanding all Evasions and Pretences to the contrary, to become our Duty, and that as well for Conscience, as Wrath sake; and doth moreover caution us against Resistance, as a great and Damning Sin, Destructive to the Souls, as well as Bodies of Men; and being so, what is there in this World that is worth the hazarding our Souls for; what kind of Christians must they be, that can swallow down a Sin of this Nature so glib, and digest it so lightly; and what kind of Subjects are they that shall go about to wrest the Laws, as some have done the Scriptures, in Favour of this Sin; a Sin so abominable in the sight of God, that as *Samuel* told *Saul*, *Rebellion was as the Sin of Witchcraft*: and that is the Reason, saith a Modern Writer, that the Devil was so forward to tempt the *Jews* to it of old, and the *Christians* of late; *Wherefore my Soul come not thou into their Secrets, and unto their Assemblies be not thou united.* Gen. 49. 6.

1. Sam.
15. 23.

§. I come now to consider the chiefest Objections that are usually made use of against this Doctrine, which I shall endeavour to Answer in the Resolution of these three great Inquiries.

1. Whether Subjection is due to Bad Governours as well as Good.

2. Whether it continues our Duty, when Religion is in apparent Hazard and Danger. And,

3. When

3. When the Laws of the Land, or which is all one, when the Civil Rights and Liberties of the Subject are invaded.

To all which I answer, Yes; Submission is our Duty under all these Circumstances.

4. 1. As to the first Inquiry; Let our Governours be never so Bad, Actual Obedience is due to all their Lawful Commands, and Submission to those that are Otherwise; but in no case Resistance to either. For what the Apostle adviseth Servants toward their Masters, holds equally true on the behalf of Subjects towards their Governours, where the Obligation is much stronger, namely, *To be subject with all Fear; not only to the Good and Gentle, but also to the Froward*: which *Grotius*, and *St. Augustine* before him, refers to Princes and Subjects, as well as to Masters and Servants: For as the Authority of the Master, so the Power of the Prince, of the Evil and Froward, as well as of the Good and Gentle, is from God; tho the Person may be Wicked and Ungodly, yet his Authority is Sacred and Divine, and in that respect commands our Reverence, as being the Ordinance of God. For *Dominion* is not founded in *Grace*, neither do the *Temporal Rights* of Princes depend upon Religion, whether *True or False*; the Power of the Magistrate is never the more from God, because he is a Good man, and never the less from God, because he is a Bad man; but the Authority of the Good and Bad is alike in Both, and derived from one and the same Original, notwithstanding the Abuse thereof when in Ill hands: To this purpose that of *St. Augustine* is very well known; *Etiam Nacentium Potestas non est nisi à Deo*; The Power even of Hurtful Princes or Tyrants is from God: and in the fifth Book of his *City of God*, He instanceth in the Best and Worst of the Roman Emperours, *Qui Augustus, Ipse & Neroni, &c. Qui Constantino Christiano, Ipse Apostata Juliano, &c.* He that gave the Sovereign Power to *Augustus*, gave it likewise to *Nero*; and He that confer'd it upon *Constantine*, a Christian, bestow'd it in like manner upon *Julian* an Apostate;

1 Pet. 2. 13.

Aug. l. de
natura Boni
adv. Ma-
nich. c. 32.

postate ; and this saith he, *Si occultis causis unquid injustis?* tho by hidden Causes, and for secret Reasons to us unknown, yet such as are never Unjust.

The Abuse therefore of a Lawful Power in the Prince, is no excuse for an unlawful Act in the Subject, as Resistance is ; for if the Prince receives his Power from God, to him only must he be Accountable for it ; but the Subjects case is different, for if he fails in his Duty, he is Accountable both to God and his Governours. Authority then however manag'd, ought not to be oppos'd, seeing God hath allowed no such thing, nor given Subjects any such Permission ; but they ought to obey as far as lawfully they may, and where they cannot do that, then to sit still and be Quiet, Submit to the good Pleasure of God, and prepare for Suffering, when He in his Providence shall call them to it, as then he doth when they cannot avoid it without Sin.

For pray consider, If we must presently fly to Arms, or break forth into open Force and Resistance upon the Mis-carriage of Government, or because perchance we are obnoxious thereto, and may think our selves in some Danger to suffer under it ; pray, what then will become of the *Faith and Patience of the Saints*, so much celebrated in Scripture, and spoken of in Former Times ? Where would be that Christian Forbearance, Long-suffering, and Self denial, which our Religion enjoyns in Times of Suffering and Persecution from Bad Princes and Governours.

The great Evangelical Duties of Meekness, Patience, and Submission to the Will of God, which are prest so frequently upon Christians by the *Holy Ghost* ; Are they of Force only under Good Princes, and not under Bad ? Under Good Princes there is commonly little or no need of them ; and if they are not of Force under Bad, there is never like to be any Occasion for them at all ; and then the Directions given us in Scripture concerning them, become altogether Vain, and to no purpose in the World ; which must needs reflect upon the Divine Wisdom, in enjoining us Duties

ties of such a Nature, as have no time Time or Opportunity for the Practice of them: but none, I hope, will dare to charge God thus foolishly.

In a Word, Christians, if you are resolved to obey and submit only to the Good and Gentle, and not to the Evil and Froward; if you are resolved to be Peaceable and Complying, so long as things are like to go well on your side, and no longer; I may well demand of you in the Words of our Saviour to the *Pharisees*, What do you more than others? Do not the very Heathens and Publicans the same? Are not the worst of Men as good Subjects as this comes to? And do you think the Religion of Christ doth teach you to be no better than they: Your Righteousness even in this Respect must exceed that of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, if ever you hope to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.

§. 2. In Answer to the second Objection, 'tis not the Cause of God, nor Preservation of Religion, that can justify Resistance of a Lawful Authority; for Religion it self, as you have heard, doth forbid it. Now for Men to assert Religion by Actions Unlawful, and such as Religion it self doth condemn, is very Absurd and Preposterous. This is in effect to make void Religion, while they stand up in the Defence thereof, and to transgress the Laws of Christianity, at the same time that they contend so fiercely for them.

To defend Religion by Rebellion Force, is to violate Religion for *Religious* Sake; and to defeat the great End and Design of the Gospel, out of a Zeal to the Name, rather than the Thing.

Give me leave therefore to be a little warm with those People, who use to be much *hotter* upon this Occasion; You that think your selves oblig'd to scuffle with your Prince, out of Zeal to your Religion, Pray, What Religion is it, that you would contend for? Is it for a Religion that Encourageth Sedition, Countenanceth Rebellion, teaches Resistance, and Puts you upon Violent Courses on its behalf?

half? If this be the Religion you would Togg for, 'tis fitting, that both you and your Religion too should be suppressed and kept under: For *such Religion* as this, is nothing but Rebellion in Disguise; and *such Faith*, nothing but Faction under a Vail. This is *such a Religion* that no Government in the World will endure, go where you will; no nor your selves neither, if you were uppermost; and doth it become Christians to plead Conscience for such a Religion as would put them upon the most Infamous and Dishonourable Practices, and render them Odious and Suspected to all Governments under Heaven.

But on the other Hand, Is it the Religion of Christ, the Doctrine of the Gospel, and Pure Christianity, that you would struggle for? Why this very Gospel and Religion teaches you quite otherwise; 'tis an Humble, Quiet, and Peaceable Religion; of the greatest Meekness, Forbearance, and Self-denial; a Religion that is made up of nothing but Love and Charity, Peace and Unity, Forgiveness and Long-suffering; a Religion that abhors Violence, damns Resistance, and strictly prohibits the use of Force and Violence on its behalf, as contrary to its own Genius, together with that of its Author: Now to pretend any of these for the Sake of such a Religion as this, is the greatest Contradiction imaginable.

We must not do Evil, that Good may come of it, is a known *Apophism* in Christianity: We must not willingly do an ill thing, tho' it be for God himself; The Ark (for instance) must fall, or we must venture it at least, rather then support it by a Wrong Hand, or too Rude an Arm: We ought not with *Peter* to draw the Sword against a Lawful Authority, tho' it be in defence of the *Saviour* of the World; but quietly permit him to be taken and slain, tho' wrongfully, and by wicked Hands; rather then attempt his Rescue in an Unwarrantable manner. Agreeable hereunto, we ought not to undertake either the Safety, or Reformation of Religion in such a way as God himself doth disapprove of:

of: Such men, instead of hoping to be Accepted for their Zeal, may be sent away with a *Quis requisivit?* or *who hath required these things at your hands?* Wherefore those Pretences of Religion, are never to be Trusted, which tend to any Ill Design against the Government; or are Inconsistent with any part of our Christian Duty, whereof this of Subjection is none of the least.

3. Neither will the Invasion of the *Laws*, or which is all one, of our *Civil Rights and Privileges*, justify Resistance against the Sovereign.

But now, because People are apt to be Alarmed and Object in this case: That if we must not stand up in the Defence of our Laws and Liberties, when they chance to be invaded, this is the ready way to invite Injuries and Oppressions from the Prince, to enslave a *Freeborn People*, and open the Door for *Arbitrary Sway and Government* to come in upon us, without any hope of Redress in such a Grievous Case: To this I shall reply in the following particulars.

§ 1. We may endeavour the Security and Preservation of our Liberties and Estates by all Lawful means, in a Legal way, and after a Modest, Humble, and Peaceable manner, such as the Laws of the Land do allow of, and is consistent with that Duty and Respect, which by the Law of God we owe our Prince.

§ 2. Let our Circumstances be never so hard and Grievous, yet to go about to Remedy them by Publick Resistance and Opposition, is the worst way we can possibly take. For this is a Course which is both *Unlawful and Unsafe*.

'Tis first, *Unlawful*, and that according to the Laws both of God and Man.

§ 1. 'Tis Unallowable by the Laws of God, or according to the Principles of Religion, as I have already prov'd at large from the Doctrine and Example of Christ, and the Practice of the Apostles and Primitive Christianity. For

these points are taught to Suffer as the *Servant* of Christ, rather than Resist as *Free-men* of the Nation : And the want of Prudence and Policy may be objected in the case, yet they are never to be pleaded to the prejudice of our Consciences in the Breach of any known Religious Duty.

It is true, to sit still and Suffer rather than Rise up and Resist, is *Durus Sermo*, a hard Lesson ; but yet is such a Lesson that God hath set us, and must be learnt, as making up a considerable part of our Religion : It may be thought Foolish and Unreasonable at first sight, and in the Opinion of most men, but will appear quite other wise upon second Thoughts, when considered according to the measures of the Gospel.

However, let it appear as Imprudent and Impolitick as it will to men of corrupt Minds, yet the Policy of this World ought to give way to the Simplicity of the Gospel ; and if God hath once made it our Duty, 'tis not all the Objections drawn from Interest and Reasons of State that can make it otherwise, except the Argument holds good, that we were *English-men* before we were *Christians*, and so ought to prefer the Rights and Priviledges of the One, before the great Commands and Duties of the Other.

But then in this way of arguing we may Superfede the whole Law of God, and Evade the chiefest part of our Christian Duty, when once it stands in the way of our Interest and Ambition. For are we not *Men* as well as *Christians*, and have we not *Honour*, *Credit*, and *Reputation* to be tender of, as well as *Priviledges* ? Why then may we not plead the One against Conscience and Duty as well as the Other ? What more Mean and Cowardly, may the Proud man say, than to turn one Check when we are smitten on the other, to forbear Revenge upon an Injury offer'd, or put up an Affront with Patience, and requite it with Kindness ; This to a man of more Honour than Conscience, sounds Low and Mean, appears Base and Ignoble, and yet no Duty can be more Christian than This. Now if

it is not warrantable to oppose any of these Worldly Considerations to the greater Obligation of Conscience in matter of forgiving Enemies, and passing by Injuries; no more ought we to object against the Duty in Hand, upon any Politick Motive or Consideration whatever.

Doth our Religion oblige us to bear and endure so much from one another, and nothing at all from our Rulers; to lay aside Malice and Revenge, Hatred and Ill Will towards our Equals and Inferiours, and not to do the like towards our Superiours, and those whom God in his Providence hath advanced so much above us. This *Non-resistance* therefore being enjoyn'd by Christ, becomes as much our Duty towards our Governours, as the Other of *Forgiveness* is our Duty to each other.

§. From the Doctrine, let me desire you to turn your Eyes once more upon the Example of Christ, and mark his Behaviour a little more narrowly: As he was no *Hellor* to return an Affront immediately, or as soon as it was offered; so neither did he set up for a *Champion* or *Patriot* of his Country against his Duty to the *Roman* Emperour; he never espoused the Cause of the *Jewish* Religion to promote a Faction, or carry on a Party against the Government: He would not Assert the Liberties and Privileges of his Country-men (tho they enjoy'd them by a Divine Grant) in prejudice to *Caesar's* Authority, or to the Interrupting of the Publick Peace; so great a Friend he was to the Quiet of the World, and so little Encouragement did he give to the Disturbers of it.

The *Romans* had many good Laws to be govern'd by, and great Priviledges belonging to them; inso much as it was not lawful to bind a *Roman*, or beat him with Rods like an ordinary Malefactor, as in the Case of *St. Paul*: Yet the Primitive Christians (many of whom were *Romans*, and born to those Priviledges which others purchas'd) never laid claim to any of them to the Prejudice of their Duty towards the higher Powers, but chose to suffer and part with

all,

all, even to Life it self; (which alone is sufficient to weigh down all the Rest) rather than save either the one or the other by Resistance.

If then the great Concern of Life ought not to exempt us from Subjection, then surely no other Conveniencies or Advantages relating thereunto can possibly do it: For are we not commanded to part with Lands and Livings, Friends and Relations, rather than Deny Christ, or any part of his Religion, as this of Subjection to Governours is, and a considerable part too.

And how Extravagant soever such a piece of Self-denial may be look't upon in or by the World; yet this should not Move a Christian, who hath a Soul to be concern'd for, of more worth than the whole World, and all the Honours and Advantages thereof put together: This for certain will secure our Condition with respect to a Future State, whatever may happen or fall out in This; whenas all our Losses and Sufferings in this World shall be abundantly made up with a rich Recompence of Reward, and a far more Exceeding and Eternal weight of Glory; wherefore, Christians, comfort one another with these Hopes. But, secondly;

§. 2. To put the matter out of all doubt, Resistance is Unlawful according to the *Laws* of the Land; For the *Wisdom* of our *Princes*, and *Loyalty* of our *Parliaments* have sufficiently provided against Taking up of Arms against the King or his Ministers: and to This the whole Nation have Sworn, and given their Assent once already by their *Representatives*, and every man doth it over again in his own Person, as oft as they are admitted to any Publick Employment either in Church or State.

Our *Laws* are accounted in all respects as *Loyal* as our Religion, and I make no question, but the *Professors* of that *Honourable Science* are better able to vindicate them herein, than I can possibly do: Yet thus much is evident to all that have but the least insight into the Constitution of

of our Government, that no Nation under Heaven hath been more Sollicitous for their Sovereigns Honour and Safety, none more tender of their Princes Reputation and Government than Our Own; and therefore no Country hath better Laws, and no Laws make better Provision, either for the *Prince* or *People* than these of the *English* Nation. Our *Constitution* is the *Happiest* and *Safest* both for the One and the other, if we had but Eyes open to see it, and Hearts thankful enough to Acknowledge it as we ought.

No War can be justifiable, but what is begun and carried on by a *Lawful Power*, and the People of *England* will always want that in their taking up Arms against their Prince; for the Law hath made all Resistance of this Nature Illegal, by acknowledging the Power of the Sword to be solely in the King; so that no man hath Power, or any Pretence of Power now to take up Arms, but by the *Royal Authority*, which be sure the King will never Commission against himself; or if he should, the Grant is void in its own Nature, as being inconsistent with the Essentials of Sovereign Power, which cannot be *Sovereign* unless it be *Irresistible* too; and such is that Power which our Kings are invested withall, and which the People do Recognize every time they take the Oath of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and declare their Abhorrence of that Traiterous Position, *Of taking up Arms against the King, &c.* Or any that are Commissioned by him.

§. 3. The *Methods* of *Resistance* and Open Force, (let the Enemies of *Passive Obedience* say what they will) are the most Unsafe and Impolitick Course we can take for the Preservation of Liberty and Property; which will appear if we consider,

§. 1. War, *Civil War* especially, is one of the most Formidable Violations of Publick Laws and Liberty; for under pretence of taking up Arms for the Rights and Privileges of the Subject, they do hereby but *Invalidate* those of other

other men, and *Hazard* their own. Now the open Breach of the Laws is no good Method for attaining their End; the exposing our Liberties to the chance of War is the worst course we can take to Preserve them, and the Invading other mens Properties, but an ill way of Securing our own: For this makes every man guilty of that Crime which he is jealous of in his *Prince*, namely, the becoming *Illegal*, *Unjust*, and *Oppressive*, *Regardless* of the *Commonweal* and *Publick Good*; This makes Subjects more *Arbitrary*, than the most *Absolute Monarch*, and *Popular Fury* of much worse consequence than any unbounded *Tyranny* whatsoever; inso much as the Remedy proves alwayes worse than the Disease, and Ends many times in the open Shame and just Punishment of the first Authors and Abettors thereof: And tho the Prince may chance to fall in the Crowd, yet this is still so much the worse for the Subject, who seldom gets any thing thereby; for Rebellion and Disobedience under a good Prince is oft-times punish'd with the Succession of a Bad one. This hath been our Case once already, when we got *many Ill Masters* in the room of *one Good one*. Let us take heed therefore of those Commotions for which of late we have smarted so severely; let us have a care we do not by our Mutiny and Sedition disturb the Government, and thereby Sin our selve into a worse Condition than that we pretend to Fear at present.

§ 2. Resistance is a Method that God seldom blesses, and rarely Thrives with any Number of Men, that shall be so wicked as to make use of it.

The Safety of a Nation, and the Security of Government consists more in Gods *Providence* and the Peoples *Quietness* and *Submission* thereto, than in their *Greatest Force* and *Strongest Opposition*; for when they have done all they can, Ten to One but things return again into their Old Channel. Notwithstanding all we can do, God will govern the World; *The Lord will reign as King upon Earth, let the People be never so Unruly*. After all our Stirs and Commotions

tions things shall go, not as we, but as God will have them; This *Consideration* alone hath bore up the Spirits of the *Best* and *Wiseſt* Men in all Ages, after they had for many years *Wearied* and *Puzzled* themselves with the *Intricacy* of Humane Affairs.

Pray consider, what do People commonly get by Rebellion, and such like Violent Attempts, except it be to Rebell themselves into *Bondage* and *Slavery*, or Sin a Nation into those very *Dangers* and *Mischiefs* which they are apt to be so Jealous and Apprehensive of.

What hath *France* got by all her *Civil Wars* and *Broils*, (whereof that Nation had good store formerly) that *Tyrannical Yoke* which she would have shook off thereby, doth but sit the Closer upon her Neck, and Grates more heavily than ever; And the Religion which they so eagerly contended for, is now in great Danger to be utterly lost and extinguish'd; except a greater Power than that of Man, be pleased to interpose miraculously on its behalf.

And to come nearer home; Pray tell me, What have we of this Nation got by our late *Unnatural Wars*, notwithstanding the Peoples Success against the Government? What did we then purchase by all the *Blood* and *Treasure* that we spent for so many years, but only *Servitude* and *Arbitrary Government*, which was the very thing we pretended to Fear from our *Lawful Prince*. What did we get by Deposing and Murdering of *one Good King*, but the Usurpation of *Many* in his room? What by dissolving the *Ancient Frame* of Government, but the erecting of several *Tyrannies* in his stead. What got we by Banishing our *Princes* and *Nobles*, and Forcing them into a *Strange Land*, but to send them for Shelter and Refuge to the *Enemies* of our *Nation* and *Religion*? And shall we still be at the same lay? Shall we be still playing with the Flames, which have scorched us so terribly already? This is to be worse than Children, if after having been once burnt, we do not for ever after Dread the Fire. God forbid then, that any among us should

in the least Favour, much less Attempt over again the same Violent Courses which have been the Occasion of so great Unhappiness to these Nations.

After we had once shook the Government, and subverted the Ancient Frame and happy Constitution thereof, how long was it before the Nation could *Settle* it self again? We chang'd and shifted so oft, till we were in fear of Disbanding all Government, and every man forc'd to stand upon his *Guard* as in time of War, and to take care of his own Defence, as they began at last to do in this *City*: So much cause they saw of Fear, and so little of Hope, or any thing certain to Trust unto; and this was our Condition for several years together. For *Rebellion*, like an *Inauspicious Comet*, or *Unlucky Conspiration* of the Heavens, doth not produce all its ill Effects at once, but continues its *Malignant Influence* a long time after, as it did then, nay, I may say, as it doth still; for unto our late Uncivil Commotions we may impute a great Part of our Present Fears and Jealousies, Unsettlement and Distraction.

Now to draw towards a Conclusion: Seeing these things are so, what remains for us to do in our *Present Circumstances*, but to leave the Government of the World to the Maker of it, and the Management of Publick Affairs to those, whom the good Providence of God hath set over us. It belongs to our Governours to Rule and Reform the State, and to God to Over-rule and Amend what may possibly be amiss in them. We are not oblig'd to do God more Service than he hath allow'd us to do, or will thank us for, when we have done: We may *Exceed* and Over-act our Parts in one *Extream*, as well as be too Remiss and *Defective* in the other; hereby we leave no room for *Suffering*, if we may *Oppose*, nor make use of our *Faith* and *Patience*, while we are unwilling to have them exercis'd and undergo the Trial.

To be *Peaceable* in *peaceable Times*, to be *Loyal* when there is no *great Number* of Examples to the contrary, to be *Still* and *Quiet* when the *Genius* and *Complexion* of the whole

whole Nation is so, this is not Thank-worthy, 'tis no less our present Interest, than Duty so to be; the most Factious can be content to be Quiet, and Boast of their Loyalty in such a Juncture as this: But to give proof of a Quiet Temper and Disposition, to adhere to Principles of Peace and Loyalty when the whole Nation is prest with contrary Extrems, and distracted with Opposite Factions on either hand, this is an Argument of a Good Man, Good Christian, and Good Subject indeed; of one that is fix'd to his Principles, and bears a Good Conscience in all things, tho he may be ill thought of for his Pains, and badly treated by either *Extream*.

'Tis therefore the *Glory* of our *Church* (for which notwithstanding the Reproaches of many have fallen upon her) 'tis her *Glory*, I say, however, as it always was of our *Religion*, that neither of them did ever encourage Disturbance or Commotion in the State, or gave the least countenance to Force and Opposition against Government: Why then she should be Censur'd so severely for adhering to those very Principles which were the *Credit* of Religion, and the Ornament of its first Professours and Reformers, I do not understand. For People to brand us for Papists, or suspect us of Confederacy with the Common Enemy, for asserting a Doctrine that is *purely Christian*, and directly *Opposite* to that of *Rome*, is to reflect upon our *Laws* and *Religion*, which acknowledge as much as this comes to: At this rate what may not People talk, who think *their Tongues are their own*, and they may use them as they please; they may as well say the *Ancient Fathers* of the Church were a company of *Heathens*, for persuading the Christians of their time to submit themselves to the Tyranny of Pagan Princes and Persecutours without Resistance; as to say, that we are *Well-willers* to *Rome*, or *Ill-willers* to our *Country*, for doing the *same Thing*, and going upon the *same Principles* as they did; nay, they may as well say that Christ himself had a Design upon all Governments under Heaven, because

he hath enjoyn'd Submission to the Higher Powers, and made Resistance Unlawful under the worst of Princes.

But if the Principles of our *Church*, and of those men who charge her so heavily, were but thoroughly weigh'd and compar'd together, we should quickly see which of the *two* bids fairest for such a *Character*, and doth most deserve to lye under such a Suspicion. However, let men Judge and Censure as they please, as their Interests may sway, or Affections incline them, yet, since the Author of our Religion hath made Resistance a *Sin*, and Subjection a Duty upon all occasions, the Ministers of Christ (if they would be found Faithful) ought to connive at *this Sin* no more than at any other ; nor yet suffer the *Guilt* thereof to lye upon their Peoples Souls, without warning them of the great *Evil* and *Danger* of it, and putting them in mind of their Duty toward their Governours, as oft as need shall require.

In a Word, As we ought to *Teach*, so 'tis your part to *Learn* your Duty towards God and the *King*, toward *Church* and *State*, as now establish'd. Be not therefore frighted out of your Duty by the Apprehension of *Romish Persecution* on the one hand, nor by the Reproach of *Censorious Faction* on the other ; Think not slight of *Passive Obedience*, as some lately have done, tho with little *Credit* either to *themselves* or their *Cause*, nor yet run into the opposite *Guilt* of any Temptation in the *World* ; Do not shrink from the Principles of *True Christian Subjection*, nor of old *English Allegiance* : but learn of an Apostle, to *Fear God and Honour the King* ; or take the Counsel of one of the Greatest of Kings, and Wisest of Men ; wherewith I shall shut up this Discourse. *Prov. 24. 21. My Son, Fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change ; for their Calamity shall rise suddenly, and who knows the Ruine of them Both.*

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